Higher Education: The Black Professional

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The black professional in the community college is a catalog of contradictions. His or her condition can only be described as tragic; and his or her plight is a travesty on the philosophy of the two-year college. The preliminary findings of one study in progress note that nearly half (409 or 47 per cent) of the 865 two-year institutions included in the sample do not have a single black faculty member or administrator. Eighty-nine of the remaining 456 colleges have only one black staff member. Similarly, there are a number of community colleges located in areas heavily populated by blacks that have no black educators on their staffs. Further, though two-year colleges claim to be the democratizing institutions of higher education, four-year institutions are doing significantly better in recruiting, selecting, and hiring black professionals. There is also overwhelming evidence that in many community colleges that have vocational and technical programs, not only are black professionals excluded, but black students are excluded from the programs as well.

One-third of all of the black students in higher education are enrolled in community junior colleges. Yet, except for urban areas, most of these students are taught by non-blacks. Only thirty-four of the 265 two-year colleges have black presidents; while but one of these colleges is predominantly white. Since most community colleges are relatively new and not bound by the tradition, departmental prerogatives, and other restrictions of four-year colleges, there seems little rationale for the
absence of black professionals in the teaching and administrative ranks of the community college.

Later in this paper, we will offer documentation and statistics to support each of the above statements. First, however, it is necessary to present the reader with some background of why this state of affairs exists. Perhaps it is best to start with a historical frame of reference.

MATRIX OF TRAGEDY

An educated and literate citizenry is often cited as the cornerstone of a democratic form of government. It has also become cliche to say the attainment of an education is the best and most effective means for upward social and economic mobility. Further, many consider it axiomatic in the United States that through its system of free public schools, all persons living in the country would avail themselves of the opportunity to attain the education afforded them by the system. To insure this, laws in many states make education mandatory until a certain age. Whereas the opportunity to acquire an education, and thereby share in its benefits, has always been available in some form to the majority of white Americans, the same has not always been true for black Americans. It was not, after all, until the passage of the Fourteenth Amendment in 1868 that blacks became a franchised part of the country's citizenry.

Because of the unique and devastating form of slavery blacks encountered in their early history in America, educational opportunity for most of them was not available until after emancipation. In *Plessy v. Ferguson*, 163 U.S. 537 (1896), the Supreme Court upheld segregation in its separate but equal doctrine, therefore the number of blacks attending school continued to grow in segregated institutions. "In 1880, there were 714,884 Negroes in school in Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Texas" (Franklin, 1967). By 1900 every state in the South had enacted laws providing for separate schools which were supposed to eventually achieve equality to those of whites. By 1910, "the number had increased to 1,426,102 and by 1930 there were 1,893,068 in school" (Franklin, 1967).

Segregated education spawned black colleges in the South, though a few were established in such northern states as Ohio and Pennsylvania. The period of their most rapid growth was the thirty years following the Civil War. Negro colleges increased from one in 1854, Ashmun Institute (now Lincoln University) in Pennsylvania, to over 100 at the time of *Brown v. Board of Education*, 349 U.S. 294 (1954), school desegrega-
tion ruling of the United States Supreme Court. Notable among the colleges established were Howard and Fisk Universities, and Meharry Medical College. Others include Morehouse College and Spelman College (Atlanta), Dillard University, Wilberforce College (now Central State Teachers College), Stowe Teachers College, and Miner Teachers College (now District of Columbia Teachers College), among many others of established reputation.

It was estimated in 1933 that of the 38,000 black students enrolled in institutions of higher education, 97 per cent were enrolled in black colleges in the southern states (Franklin, 1967). This situation has changed considerably both in the number of enrollees and the place of enrollment since the Brown, supra ruling, and more recent court litigation. Jacobsen (1971) quotes figures released from the Office for Civil Rights, where he notes that 44 per cent of all full-time black undergraduates in 1970 were enrolled in “predominately minority institutions.” The Chronicle (May 30, 1972) reports the number of blacks enrolled in higher education at all levels, including black colleges, number 379,138 (or 6.6 per cent) of the total number of students enrolled.

Although many black colleges were administered by whites, it would be wrong to say black colleges have not provided blacks opportunities for educational attainment and professional development beyond high school. It is equally true they have provided the greater number of professional opportunities for black educators in higher education. In fact, black colleges have offered the only outlet for black faculty and administrators in higher education (Franklin, 1967). Some blacks can currently be counted among the professional staffs at predominately white institutions. Until recently, however, this opportunity was not available to them. So insignificant was their presence and so few were their numbers that only three sentences were devoted to them in Caplow and McGee's (1965) provocative volume, the Academic Market Place:

Discrimination on the basis of race appears to be nearly absolute. No major university in the United States has more than a token representation of Negroes on its faculty and these tend to be rather specialized persons who are fitted in one way or another for such role. We know of no Negro occupying a chairmanship or major administrative position in our sample of universities.

The presence of black professionals in higher education generally and in community colleges in particular is more of a historical, political, and social accident than a conscious goal of the academic community. The recent wars (World War II, Korean, and Vietnam) were major
factors. During and just after each of the conflicts, blacks made their greatest gains in the pursuit of equal educational opportunity. Overlapping and running concurrent with the latter two conflicts (1950-1971) were a number of legal decisions affecting the emergence of black Americans in higher education and a number of other Civil Rights Laws and education acts. Although America witnessed a series of movements during this same time period (Civil Rights, Free Speech, Student Activism, Black Power, Women's Liberation), it was the efforts of black students more than any other group that called attention to the fact of discriminatory and racist practices in academic community. “The attack of black students has been directly on education issues,” (Glazer, 1968). Their demands were concrete: they wanted specific courses, programs, recruitment of their group, tutorial services, and financial support (Glazer, 1968). A consistent demand throughout has been one for black faculty.

Though many reasons have been offered for militancy of black students in higher education, it appears that the historical antecedents and a lifetime of experience with racism precipitated black student activism on college campuses. One must understand this if he expects to put the plight of the black professional in the community college in perspective.

BLACK STUDENT ACTIVISM

Dickinson (1969) notes:

It is difficult in discussing major problems troubling the black activist to confine the content to obviously campus-related events. While higher education provides the institutional context in which black students protest their conditions, their protests range beyond the campus and incorporate the plight of their brothers and sisters in the ghettos, the shanty towns, and on the farms. They say clearly that they, the students, are a vanguard of the new black, and that they cannot forget how their people have lived, any more than they can ignore their discomfort in a mainly white society.

The 1960's saw a radical departure from the attitudes traditionally manifested by blacks, toward their education at all levels, but particularly in higher education. The increase of black students in higher education and at predominantly white institutions, is attributable to recruitment efforts for the disadvantaged, availability of increased financial aid, and “open” admissions. Initially, the recruitment intent of the white colleges was considered good. Unfortunately, their assumptions were ill established. Black students soon realized they were expected
to be grateful for the opportunity afforded them; they were to be ready
to prove their capacity to the point of sacrifice, if necessary, in order to
compete successfully; they should emulate "white" standards of social
decorum; they were to pave the way for other blacks and prove the
efficacy of programs for the "disadvantaged;" they were to learn to
maneuver the system, get the skills, become suburbanites, and represent a
role model for young blacks in the ghetto (Proctor, 1969).

The students found curricula biased toward the understanding and
appreciation of Western European cultures; small numbers of their
group were favored; no black professionals with whom to relate; a
hostile educational environment; few service accommodations for blacks
(hairdressers and barbershops); college calendar arrangements and re-
lated costs inimical to their circumstances; attitudes of condescension and
derogation on the part of white professionals and students; ignorance
of their cultural background, and disdain for their manifest behavior (re-
 resulting in the establishment of double standards of behavior); living ar-
rangements conducive to tension and anxiety; academic deficits and im-
pediments in the way of success; limited supportive services of a tutorial
nature; limited knowledge of or access to the informal system for "mak-
ing it," or "coping with" their environment; lack of acceptance in the
community and about the campus in some instances; and the reality of
the revolving door. In short, they found themselves to be aliens.* In like
manner, students found that many black professionals were considered
unqualified; were only included in special programs; were part-time
rather than full-time; did not enjoy tenure and other benefits; were not
the persons who attended conferences and so on. This awareness af-
fected black students deeply.

Although two-year colleges were relatively quiet during this time, the
activism of black students was not confined solely to the campuses
of four-year institutions. Activism found its way to a number of com-

unity junior colleges throughout the country, notably Merritt College
in California, Essex County Community College in New Jersey, Mal-
colm X College in Chicago; Highland Park Junior College in Michigan,
and Seattle Community College in the State of Washington. Student de-
mands were similar to many of those made by black students at the four-
year institutions. Results of the demands ranged from minimal conces-
sions to significant institutional changes. The most unusual response,
however, was the establishment of "special programs of Black Studies,

* In a manuscript of a new book, *Black Knight-White Fortress: A Study of Black Edu-
cators in Predominantly White Colleges and Universities*, the authors, William Moore, Jr.
and Lonnie H. Wagstaff, also found that black professionals considered themselves aliens. The
volume is being prepared for publication.
the initiation of pilot projects for the "disadvantaged", establishment of supportive services systems, and the hiring of black staff members. Most of these staff members turned out to be special project directors.

While the activism of black students drew more attention to themselves than to black professionals in the two-year college, their activities did benefit the black educators. The numbers of black professionals increased. The major influx of black teachers and administrators, as we have said, centered around special projects supported by funds from the outside rather than from within the institution. Most of these professionals were employed in community colleges in large urban areas.

Though black enrollment at two-year institutions increased, the plight of the student failed to improve significantly. The number of black professionals in two-year colleges was even smaller than the number in four-year colleges and universities (see Table I). Black students were denied entry into many programs in the two-year colleges. The trades and other apprenticeship programs, in particular, excluded their participation. Since all apprenticeship programs are controlled by a Joint Apprenticeship Committee made up of labor union people as well as state and federal officials, it is apparent why black students were excluded. Similarly, black teachers and administrators were not hired to function in many vocational and technical programs because they could not get union approval. Many black educators found themselves relegated to remedial programs and other special projects.

Table I*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of College</th>
<th>F/A</th>
<th>NF/NA</th>
<th>FO</th>
<th>AO</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Two-year college</td>
<td>236</td>
<td>409</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>865</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Four-year college/university</td>
<td>439</td>
<td>273</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>892</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>675</td>
<td>682</td>
<td>329</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>1757</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Legend:

F/A—Colleges with black faculty and administrators
NF/NA—Colleges with no black faculty and no black administrators
FO—Colleges with black faculty only
AO—Colleges with black administrators only

* Table I was taken from the study currently in progress by William Moore, Jr. and Lonnie H. Wagstaff, "The Role and Status of Black Educators in Predominantly White Colleges and Universities."
STUDENT EXPECTANCIES OF TWO-YEAR COLLEGES

Black students initially believed that the two-year college was to be their educational salvation. Many of them had already given up on the senior institution. They soon observed that many community colleges were located outside of the areas where they lived (Corcoran, 1972). More specifically, community colleges, the neighborhood schools of higher education as it were, did not serve black neighborhoods. Thus, while the community college claimed to be a medium capable of responding to the diverse educational needs of the community for continuing and post-secondary education, it did not accept the fact that means other than those traditionally available would have to be employed to serve these needs. The innovation of the community college was to provide a post-secondary institution of higher education where a multiplicity of purposes and functions could be accomplished. In serving these functions, comprehensive instructional programs, supportive instructional services, General Educational Development (GED) preparation, and courses of special interest were to be developed. Additionally, programs of student services, including financial aid and community services, were also to be established.

The aforementioned conceptual and philosophical factors contributed highly to the prominence of community colleges at this time (Moore, 1970). Encompassed in the philosophy of the community college is a policy of open admissions. Implicit in such a policy is the realization of the ideal opportunity for appropriate education for all citizens. A corollary of such policy is the principle that every person should have the opportunity to succeed or fail by his or her own efforts, and the responsibility for curricular or program choice and subsequent success or failure should rest with the student, rather than intervening variables such as standardized tests or admissions officers.

Policies of open admission theoretically attract diverse student bodies, thus requiring creative imagination in curriculum and program development. In addition to established curricula of transfer and occupational studies, the offerings, of course, should reflect community and student needs. The colleges should reflect a certain amount of flexibility and non-traditionalism to make them responsive to the needs being served within the latitude of any constraints that may apply.

Included in the philosophy of student services to support open admission is that of comprehensive programs of development to provide students with fertile resources of information, counseling and guidance by “people persons” receptive to and understanding of their needs. Some authorities on community colleges believe such counselors should be persons with broad and comprehensive knowledge and perspective of the
total college, as well as faculty members. Thornton (1966) states, "While college faculty members sometimes feel that they could very successfully assign students to the proper course, experience shows that this procedure is not usually effective." Many black professionals can fulfill the needed roles to guide blacks. Another corollary to the policy of "open admissions" for students should be "open acceptance" of black staff members. Students note that this is not the case. This observation by students confirms the preliminary findings of the current study being done by Moore and Wagstaff.

Programs of supportive services should further provide basic skill building, developmental and tutorial needs of students. Such programs should be integral to the organizational configuration of the college and, ideally, must be provided in a non-demeaning or non-condescending manner without stereotypic overtones. A service to the community is that of educational and cultural interest to constituents of the college service area provided through extension or outreach programs away from the campus. The college is thus taken to the community in an effort to motivate continued educational endeavor and reach persons who heretofore have gone unreached, and who will not come to the campus, or for whom the campus in inaccessible.

As a timely entry to the educational scene, appearing in a dramatic and dynamic fashion in espousal of the above mentioned concepts and philosophies, the community college gained widespread acclaim as a solution to many of the problems of education and society. Such acclaim was particularly noticeable on the part of blacks. Former Mayor of Cleveland, Carl Stokes (1969), stated in an address to the 49th Annual Convention of the American Association of Junior Colleges at Atlanta in 1969:

"I firmly believe that there is no group better suited to be of immense help to those of us engaged in meeting America’s greatest challenge, the urban crisis, no group better suited in terms of philosophy, past performance, background and commitment, than you who are engaged in and by our junior colleges, because they have a clear goal of service to the community and have not yet become institutionalized. At a time when professionals are clamouring for high entrance requirements, junior colleges are preparing thousands of people with inadequate educational backgrounds for careers as technicians in social service agencies, schools, libraries, and even City Hall."

GROWTH OF COMMUNITY COLLEGES

Community colleges have experienced a phenomenal growth rate which accelerated during the period of black student activism. While
the community college movement is no stranger to bigness, the thrust of the movement was perceived by blacks to be clearly more beneficial than pathological. The *Junior College Director* of January, 1960, lists 677 junior colleges with enrollments totalling 905,062. The number of full-time equivalent instructors was 24,022. It was suggested by Thornton (1966), that this number could increase to 800 colleges, with 2,000,000 students, and at least 40,000 full-time equivalent instructors. Thornton's predictions appear to be inaccurate. Matson (1972), reports an increase from 610 two-year colleges enrolling approximately 200,000 students in 1941, to 1,100 colleges enrolling almost 3,000,000 students in 1971. In the decade of the 1960's, the number of two-year colleges increased 64 per cent; the number of students 400 per cent. The growth spiral is expected to continue. In 1964 there were 10 multi-campus community college districts in the country. By 1971 there were more than 40. The Carnegie Commission (1970) recommended the establishment of an additional 230 to 280 comprehensive community colleges in the nation by 1980 to help provide additional space for the four million students who will be enrolled by that time. This recommendation, when implemented, will place a community college within commuting distance of 85 per cent of all Americans.

Yet bigness can defy paradox, obscure irony and hide the significant for there are great variations in the distribution of public community colleges. True, California boasts 87 public two-year institutions, but 10 states have two or less. Although a number of two-year colleges are located and have been build in the urban areas and are deeply involved in the areas, there has been an alarming tendency to establish community colleges in suburban areas (Cross, 1970). Of the nearly 100,000 teachers working in community colleges, fewer than 3,000 are full-time black professionals.

The growth of community colleges reflects not only the need for an educational medium that can respond to post-secondary educational needs not met by the traditional four-year institution, but also the spiritual and psychological uplift that such an opportunity provides for many. In essence, it represents, with its innovativeness and flexibility, a ray of hope and a “first” and “second” chance to many persons of all ages who would have been excluded without their establishment.

Although increasing numbers of blacks have been enrolled in four-year institutions of higher education, many blacks have availed themselves of the resources of the community college as well. The community college, with its philosophical commitments, has appeared ideally suited to compensate for years of educational deprivation as the result of “de jure” or “de facto” segregation and limited educational opportunity.
Blacks represent a sizable proportion of the increase in community college enrollments at colleges located near substantial settlements of the black populaces. Unfortunately, this phenomenal growth and verbalized commitment has not carried with it corresponding opportunities for equal employment for black professionals.

BLACK PROFESSIONALS STILL EXCLUDED

One of the most significant findings of a recent survey* reveals that more than a dozen newly emerging urban black two-year colleges are located outside the South. Though these institutions have black student enrollments ranging from 40 per cent to over 90 per cent, there exists in most of these schools, predominantly white faculty and administrative personnel who are grossly out of proportion to the number of black students enrolled.

The relevance of the community colleges to the lives of many blacks is made manifest by a number of factors: the reduced cost of attendance; the open admissions policies; the selectivity and revolving door of the four-year institutions; the proximity of many of the community colleges to the homes of the students; programs of supportive services; the reduced threat of failure; occupational programs; opportunity to attain skills; and the community perspective of the colleges. In spite of the militancy of the era and the rhetoric of protest, blacks sought to invest in this opportunity.

Commensurate with the increase of community colleges and black enrollments is the mandate that they not be allowed to become neo-colonial outposts of white supremacy, with whites in possession of all positions of authority, and only those of menial significance occupied by blacks. And they must be ever mindful that they do not become "pawns" of higher education by representing through their programs of vocational and technical training the ceiling to which black people and other minority groups can aspire, in order to allow the "natural aristocracy" to assume their rightful inheritance to the four-year institution, which, for the most part, would be precluded against blacks.

Manifest also in its operation should be increased opportunities for black professionals at all levels, irrespective of college location but particularly at institutions at which significant numbers of blacks are enrolled. The inclusion of black professionals on community college staffs should be a natural outgrowth of institutions designed to serve and reflect the characteristics of communities in their immediate proximity.

* Further discussion regarding this survey is included in a subsequent section of this article.
All community colleges should strive to develop a cosmopolitan mix of professional staff commensurate with their designation as “peoples” colleges for the people.”

As the result of Civil Rights activity, federal directives with legal sanctions have made it essential that agencies serving the public and sponsored entirely or in part by them through taxes develop programs of affirmative action. Such programs not only make it unlawful to discriminate against persons because of race, creed, color, political affiliation or sex, but also direct that efforts be made to attract and recruit minorities. To investigate the efficacy of affirmative action programs, the characteristics of staffing patterns, the morale among blacks in the community college movement, as well as other circumstances indigenous to the employment of blacks, two recent national and rather comprehensive studies have been undertaken by Moore and Wagstaff of Ohio State University and Andrew Goodrich of the University of Maryland. Although a total and in-depth analysis of their data is now in process, a preliminary review of the results will be reported here. First, the findings of Moore and Wagstaff.

In some ways black educators encounter worse employment situations in community colleges than in four-year institutions. Of the 1,111 two-year colleges listed in the 1972 Directory of Junior Colleges, 865 of the college president (78 per cent) whose names appeared on this roster responded to the survey; almost half of them, 409 (or 47 percent), indicated they do not have a single black faculty member (or administrator) on the staffs of their institutions. Two hundred thirty-six (236) community college presidents indicated that both black faculty and administrators were on their campuses. One hundred ninety-two (192) of them revealed that they had black faculty but no black administrators on their college staffs; and twenty-eight (28) of them indicate the presence of black administrators but no black faculty members. These statistics clearly indicate a contradiction in the stated philosophies of two-year institutions. It staggers the imagination to discover that nearly half (47 per cent) of the two-year colleges of this country do not have black representation on their faculties and in their administration. Two-year college administrators loudly proclaim (and the society believes) that this institution is the most democratic of all post-secondary institutions. Clearly, this is a false claim and a misconception where the hiring of black faculty and administrators is concerned.

More than 90 per cent of black professionals in two-year colleges believe that their institutions are racist; that they employ discriminatory practices; that they were only hired because of student pressures and affirmative action plans carried on by the federal government. They
can demonstrate that whites are promoted through the buddy system rather than on the basis of qualifications. The overwhelming majority feel that they have implicit adjunct responsibilities of keeping the lid on black students. And they are convinced because of the attitudes of white professionals that black students get an inferior education compared to white students in the college.

Taking a serious look at the status or role of black professionals in higher educational institutions also dictates taking a close look at black student enrollment data. These data, as reported by Moore and Wagstaff in their National Community College survey, reveal a serious imbalance between black professional staff and black students. The AACJC's* Minority Programs Office, under the direction of Andrew Goodrich, initiated this research to elaborate on and up-date existing information on the status of minority students, faculty, and programs. Specifically, the study was designed: (1) to gather base line data on Black, Puerto Rican, Chicano, and American Indian student enrollments; (2) to gather data regarding American Indian faculty and administrators; (3) to obtain information on special programs established as a clear response on the part of two-year colleges to the specific needs of minority students; and (4) to assess the capability of the institutions to gather, maintain, and report census data for the minority groups in question.

The response from 674 institutions, over two-thirds of AACJC member colleges, reveals a total black (full- and part-time) student enrollment of 113,548. Blacks represent 7.2 per cent of the total enrollment for responding institutions (1,570,830) and 62.5 per cent or nearly two-thirds of the total enrollment for minorities (see Table II).

Table II* presents the data for full-time and part-time minority students in each of five minority categories covered in this study, e.g., Black, Mexican American, Puerto Rican, American Indian, and other minorities.

While this study did not focus exclusively on blacks in community colleges, useful information was reported on black administrators and teaching staff. The following tables represent available data on minority administrative and teaching personnel by specific ethnic groups. Of the total number of administrators 5.6 per cent are black, .9 per cent are Mexican American, .1 per cent are Puerto Rican, and .5 per cent are American Indian. Since black students constitute 7.2 per cent of the total enrollment for responding institutions, it would seem that a reason-

* American Association of Community Junior Colleges.

* For a more complete report on the results of this study, see “Minorities in Two Year Colleges,” December/January, 1972/73 issue of the Junior College Journal.
Table II
Full-Time and Part-Time Enrollments by Minority Group and Total Fall 1970 Enrollment for Responding Institutions*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Minority Group</th>
<th>Minority Full-Time Enrollment</th>
<th>% of Total Full-Time Enrollment</th>
<th>Minority Part-Time Enrollment</th>
<th>% of Total Part-Time Enrollment</th>
<th>Total Enrollment</th>
<th>% of Total Enrollment</th>
<th>% of Total Minority Enrollment</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>76,958</td>
<td>9.2</td>
<td>36,590</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>113,548</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>62.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mexican American</td>
<td>30,982</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>14,927</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>42,909</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>25.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puerto Rican</td>
<td>2,423</td>
<td>.2</td>
<td>1,135</td>
<td>.1</td>
<td>3,558</td>
<td>.2</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American Indian</td>
<td>11,018</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>3,189</td>
<td>.4</td>
<td>14,207</td>
<td>.9</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Minorities</td>
<td>4,427</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4,421</td>
<td></td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MINORITY TOTAL</td>
<td>120,468</td>
<td>14.4</td>
<td>61,173</td>
<td>8.4</td>
<td>181,641</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL ENROLLMENT</td>
<td>831,520</td>
<td></td>
<td>726,941</td>
<td></td>
<td>1,570,830</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

able balance between black administrators and black students is achievable within a not-too-distant time frame. Further examination of these data reveal, however, that black administrators are disproportionately employed in "special programs" as opposed to occupying decision-making positions in academic areas. Chief black administrators (i.e., presidents) within two-year public and private colleges now number thirty-four. Participation at this most significant level must also be increased if volume after volume of equal opportunity rhetoric is to be realized. Both administrators and faculty were identified on the basis of persons spending 50 per cent or more of their time serving in these areas.

Table IV considers minority faculty and reveals that black faculty represents 3.6 per cent of the total for all faculty. And when compared with a black student enrollment of 7.2 per cent both an obvious and glaring imbalance exists.

The low percentage of black full-time faculty and administrators within two-third of AACJC member institutions participating in this survey holds serious implications for the mission of community and junior colleges during the remainder of this decade. If, as these institutions suggest, they are not only to provide "open entry" for all students, but also provide for a successful exit, a better balance between black administrators and teacher-student ratios must be achieved.

Table III

Full- and Part-Time Administrators by Group and Total Administrators,* Fall 1970

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Black</th>
<th>Chicano</th>
<th>Puerto Rican</th>
<th>American Indian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Full-Time</td>
<td>468</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part-Time</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>528</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PERCENT</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Based on the 9,318 figure for total administrators reported in the 1971 Junior College Directory.
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Table IV

Full-Time and Part-Time Minority Faculty and Total Faculty,* Fall 1970

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>FULL-TIME</th>
<th>PART-TIME</th>
<th>FULL- &amp; PART-TIME</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% of</td>
<td>% of</td>
<td>% of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>1,451</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>1,117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chicano</td>
<td>385</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>365</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puerto Rican</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American Indian</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TOTAL

FACULTY       | 45,436   | 26,407   | 71,843            |

* Figures for total faculty are based on 1971 Junior College Directory.